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## ocial Questions Bulletin

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### STOP TESTS -- World Council Pleads

the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches: February semi-annual meeting in Geneva issued a stateurging cessation of atomic tests and asked its member thes to build informed public opinion on the issue.

er. Franklin Clark Fry, New York, president of the United eran Church in America, and chairman of the Central mittee of the WCC, presided at the Executive Committee.

he text of the statement follows:

Ever since man unleashed the power of the atom, peoples are world have feared its threat of destruction and sought promise which this development has offered. They have shed hopefully but thus far without success for steps to

nize war and release power for peace.

The Conference on cessation of tests now meeting in Geneval break the current deadlock. The considerable progress has been achieved in technical approach to detection of should now make it possible for political leaders to reach ructive agreement. Both the WCC and its members in many of the world have repeatedly pleaded in statements and esentations for approach to disarmament which could start controlled cessation of tests. Therefore this Executive Comee of the World Council of Churches currently meeting in eva during days which are critical for the conference weless efforts to this end now being put forth.

We realize that the question of international control is the

Powers of the control commission as well as composition aspection teams are in dispute. Perseverance in efforts to we these difficulties is the responsibility which negotiating

rnments bear towards all people.

It must be recognized that any agreement, however careframed, involves a measure of calculated risks for all tes. Yet in fact atomic peril is so fraught with grave conences for present and future generations such risk is surely fied. Moreover every agreement is one more step in the agle to allay suspicion and build confidence. To make tests ease is important in itself. To demonstrate that international rols are feasible in relation to cessation of testing can in long run prove even more worthwhile in the development of lated and progressive disarmament. In commending the statet to member churches, we urge them to do everything posto build informed public opinion about these issues which vitally at stake and make such representation to their governts as they deem proper especially in countries whose govern-

### TIONAL MFSA '59 MEETING PROPOSALS

From National MFSA President Loyd F. Worley comes the losal that this year's national meeting for all MFSA membeld in St. Louis, May 29-31, beginning with lunch on ay and ending Sunday afternoon. Cooperation and facilities been pledged by St. Louis Methodist churches and mins, YMCA, YWCA, and various hotels. The 1960 meeting is held (by decision of the 1958 Membership Meeting) during Methodist General Conference in Denver. Please plan to atthe 1959 meeting, hold the May 29-31 dates proposed by ident Worley, send your response to his suggestions, and own proposals for MFSA meeting program and business.

ments are directly involved in negotiations on cessation of tests. The Executive Committee further requests officers of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs to bring this statement personally to the attention of the heads of delegations at the current conference—United Kingdom, USSR, United States of America—and to pursue these objectives through every appropriate means."

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, founded in 1907, seeks to deepen within the Church, the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the

Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation stands for the complete abolition of war. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or

group discriminations and privileges. In seeking these objectives, the Federation does not commit its members to any specific program, but remains an inspirational and educational agency, proposing social changes

by democratic decisions, not by violence.

Readers: Please write the President to the same effect.

### **FEBRUARY 2, 1959**

By Rev. Chas. X. Hutchinson, Jr.\*

This date marked the beginning of a new era. School integration began in Virginia. Twenty-one Negroes entered seven white schools as the Old Dominion reluctantly bowed to Federal and State court decisions. There were no mobs, no violence. Students, educators, community leaders and parents, whatever their personal feelings may have been, recognized the necessity of orderly compliance with the law, and their no-nonsense attitude smoothed the adjustment to school integration, with no civil upheaval.

Six years of "massive resistance" in Virginia may have great historic importance. It was a long, frustrating experience. No stone was left unturned to legally thwart the decision of the United States Supreme Court. In the end it was a choice between integrated schools or closed schools. The former seemed preferable. For the really big news on February 2nd was not that 21 Negroes went to school, but rather that some 7,000 white students who had been shut out of school, and who had been the victims of a tragic loss of a full semester of school work, went back to their scholastic preparation for life.

Governor J. Lindsay Almond was correct in saying that "the way ahead is fraught with serious difficulties." Some schools remain closed. Some sections of Virginia will find it more difficult to make the transition than Norfolk and Arlington. But the psychological wall has been broken. Integration has begun in Virginia. The Governor has put respect for law and order above his personal views. The Old Dominion has set an example for the

This last is very important, Virginia is the most influential state in the South. The history of southern leadership centers in Virginia. I would not say that the statement "As goes Virginia, so goes the South," is completely accurate, but it is not far wrong.

Honor is due to all of those who prepared the way for peaceful integration in the schools of Norfolk and Arlington. I nominate for special recognition the twenty-one Negro youngsters who really bore the brunt of the battle. They did not create the situation. They were innocent by-standers in a gigantic struggle. I wonder how they felt when they started for school on February 2nd? It probably never occurred to them that they were participants in a great historic event. They probably feared a hostile reception, and dreaded the possibility of getting smeared before they got halfway up the school walk. I have before me the picture of Betty Jean Reid, the lone Negro student to enter Norfolk's Garnby High School. Another picture shows Lewis Cousins, the lone Negro pupil in Norfolk's Maury High School, sitting all alone in a section of the school auditorium. I salute these lonely

youngsters. They are made of heroic stuff.

It might seem on the surface, especially to Northerners, that all this excitement about twenty-one Negro children going to school is much ado about little. On the contrary, it is of enormous consequence. A new era has begun. A first step toward first class citizenship for 15 million Americans has been taken. It may well be that Negro Americans will look back to the date of February 2, 1959 in some such way as all Americans honor the date of July 4, 1776.

\*Meth. Minister, Editor Progress, Wash., D.C.

### NEWS OF MFSA CHAPTERS

California-Nevada Conference MFSA Chapter has held two successful mid-year meetings. The first was at Methodist conference grounds White Sulphur Springs, November 14-15 and featured consideration of China, with leadership provided by several including Dr. Dryden Phelps and Miss Maud Russell, both of whom are warm friends of the Chinese people and spent many years there working as missionaries. The Chapter held a second supper meeting in Berkeley, February 3, with a full house present and a stimulating presentation of local church integration by Rev. Howard Carey, pastor of the successfully integrated Vermont Square Methodist Church in Los Angeles.

The Oregon MFSA Chapter has continued its excellent Sunday Evening worship services and forums for enlightenment and informed group action on social issues. Recent features include: Mike Munk, participant in last summer's American Friends Service Committee conference with representatives of 35 countries seeking to improve relations between their nations on "Building International Friendship;" Herbert Rolph, president of Oregon Farmers Union and former member of Montana State Legislature, on "The Fight for the Family Farm;" local leaders Edna Smith, Martina Curl, Ruth Haefner and Martha Swanson bringing the chapter members up-to-date on "Civil Liberties, Race and International Relations;" a special film presentation celebration of the "10th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;" Rev. Sidney J. Russell, director of England's Kingsley Hall, a settlement center for Ford and other workers, and co-worker of Muriel Lester, on "Practical Peacemakers;" youth leader James Stuart, also of Kingsley Hall, on "A Conscientious Objector in an English Prison;" a Christmas Party; Julian Schuman, one of the defendants, on "The Powell-Schuman Sedition Case" (see account of the case in December SQB. These developments have taken place since: the trial began; a mistrial was declared following publication of statements suggesting prejudice by the judge; the government has replaced the sedition charge by the more ominous, frightening charge of treason); Dr. Holland Roberts, Founder-Director of Calif. Labor School, former Stanford Assoc. Prefossor, past Pres. Calif. Fed. of Teachers, recent recipient of over 400,000 votes in primary campaign for State Supt. of Public Instruction, participant in the national convention of socialists in Cleveland last Nov. on "The Cleveland Conference-Political Action of, by, and for the People;" Dr. Corinne and Rev. Mark Chamberlin as leaders of a round table on "Capitalism-Economic Base for Religious Idealism;" Ray Neufer reviewing "Power Elite" by C. Wright Mills; Dr. Harry Steinmetz, San Diego psychologist and chairman of Los Angeles American-Russian Institute on "Soviet Psychology;" Dr. Harold Bass, Founder-Pastor of a People's Church in Tacoma and former Korea missionary on "The Religion of Jesus." March chapter meetings will feature: Dr. Albert Steward of Oregon State College and former China missionary on "China-the Walking Giant;" Dr. Annette Rubinstein, long vice-chairman of the American Labor Party in N. Y. and author of The Great Tradition in English Literature: From Shakespeare to Shaw, speaking on literature; Dr. Camille Anderson, Director Out-Patient Dept. of Mental Health of the Oregon State Hospital on "Mental Illness and How to Avoid It;" and Clyde Walker, who spent two years for the U. S. government as a farm machinery specialist in Jordan with the Point Four program of technical assistance, on "Sojourn in Jordan or Two Years on a Hot Spot;" and on April 4 the chapter's Annual Spring Festival with chicken dinner, fun, and sale of shrubs and handicrafts.

# LETTER FROM WILLARD UPHAUS ON A PEACE CONGRESSMAN & FARM WORKERS' PLIGHT

During a visit to Washington last week I had the great pleasure of calling on Congressman William H. Meyer of Vermont. Congressman Meyer honored the NY Council of Work Fellowship by speaking at its Annual Dinner at The Community Church the evening of January 22nd.

I ad read in The Washington Star about the five-hou discussion in the House of Representatives on the continuation of the draft, and found that Mr. Meyer was one of the few who spoke vigorously against it. He attacked the draft as an aid to what he called "cancerous militarism growing in this country and warned the House not to permit "the military leadership to usurp the powers and duties of Congress." I wanted to tell Mr. Meyer how gratified I was over the stand he took.

On arriving at the office I explained to a very pleasan Administrative Assistant that I had no appointment and that might just have to leave my message for the Congressman with him. "No, if you can wait a few minutes, you may see him.

"Take off your coat, and be seated," said Mr. Meyer in greeting me cordially. We were soon relaxed in conversation at though he had nothing to do but talk. He showed me the Congressional Record in which his remarks of the previous dawere reported. He explained the uphill nature of the fight against the Pentagon, the Administration and the House leadership, but was happy that at least twenty members of the House had voted against the extension of the draft. There had onle been four votes four years ago. He confided that "had there been a secret ballot, I am sure one hundred would have indicate their opposition." We all know how Mr. Sam and Senator Johnso dominate the situation through granting or withholding favor But there is a new spirit in Washington, especially among the freshmen. There is still time to write your Senators. Will you do this?

On returning to the outer office Mr. Meyer said heartily, want you to meet my wife." She was one of four busy peoplin the office. When I told her I just had to come to give he husband a word of encouragement, she became quite radiat and said, "Yes, I was in the gallery yesterday, and I was very proud of him."

Congresman Meyer had told us at the dinner he had only few hundred dollars with which to begin a campaign in Vermon He gave me a copy of the one campaign leaflet, a legal siz sheet, with not just a few slogans, but a complete soci philosophy that included peace, taxation, conservation of nature resources and the economic well-being of all groups in or country.

The principal reason for going to Washington was to atter a public hearing on a program for farm labor set up by Tl National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. The standing the sponsors attracted me. Among them were Frank P. Grahar A. Philip Randolph, Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg, Helen Gahaga Douglas, Rabbi Roland B. Gittelson, Msgr. George G. Higgi and Mrs. Roosevelt.

The testimony given by representatives of some 2,000,0 migratory and farm workers was shocking. I was reminded of n

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with Claude Williams on the plantations of Arkansas 25 ago. Those were the days of the Great Depression when otal annual national product got as low as \$34 billion. Now is land of fabulous wealth that has reached an annual proof \$450 billion, there is still such wholesale misery for so of our brothers. It was a story of privation, ostracism, dering for work, starvation wages, ill health, shacks for homes, of education for children. The abuse of Mexicans, Puerto as and people from the Caribbean was especially shocking, high tens of thousands of American workers are in deep ble. Often crooked agents entice these people from their blands, making promises that are often not fulfilled. Also, knowing English and unorganized, many farm workers are at mercy of their exploiters. A dramatization entitled "Out of r Poverty" was especially impressive, with Actress and former gresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas the Narrator.

Although the general testimony was to the effect that the ttion is still deteriorating, there were bright pictures of conttive effort and social experimentation. One of the speakers de dinner session attended by five hundred people was John deabrook, President, Seabrook Farms Co. South of Trenton, Jersey, lies a 5400 acre tract of land being managed with latest technical equipment and on which the workers are mized. At my table sat three of these union members-a eese, a Negro and a white worker- who became eloquent their enterprise. I also met the head of the union. They ted with pride to "the boss", honored as a speaker. Mr. prook showed that conditions of living can be improved, under n-management cooperation, while the prices of the produce be lowered. All Seabrook Farms foods are frozen.

All aspects of the farm problem were taken up, including the ent state of the traditional American one-family farm. Emers Associations were heard, and although they were ously on the defensive at the hearing, there was no question what they have their problems in our dog-eat-dog economy.

are all involved.

One of the values of the trip was seeing a good many friends m I had known in the Religion and Labor movement. I rally was on the lookout for ideas and people for our week summer on forgotten farm workers.

We can: 1) Read about America's Forgotten People in the uary 22nd issue of The Reporter; 2) Feel your kinship with e who grow the food we eat; 3) Encourage your Congressmen Senators to give support to Federal legislation establishing dards of income for farm workers, so that people in the Is begin to have the protection that industrial workers enjoy. s no wonder that there is so little heart in this country for eving massive hunger in other countries, if we will not take of our brothers and sisters inside our own borders.

### PORT OF THE LOS ANGELES VISITATION

By E. L. Peet

October 12-14 I spent with Jack McMichael in the Los eles Area visiting about the MFSA. Jack had arranged two king engagements for my Russian slides which amply covered el and other expenses. It proved to be at the peak of a late mer heat wave. Besides this the LA area is so vast and wling that it is difficult to make connections with people m you don't know.

On the morning of the 13th we started out. Visited with the Randall Scott old time MFSA member at his church office dtadena. He gave us \$10 renewal. On the previous evening I ald have added we were entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Harry y (members) in Canoga Park who had provided for my acts we had visits with the Rev. Thatcher Jordan, pastor of arge Methodist Church in Arcadia; Mrs. Hilda Osman of dena; member Mrs. Pearl S. Graybill in Pasadena very ill arthritis who repeated to us as she had to Mark that she was embering MFSA in her will . . . Numerous other members e contacted by phone including Mrs. R. E. Stearns of Altadena; Richard Ramsdell of Culver City; and some others to whom talked whose names I don't recall. We had a personal visit

with the pastor of the Vermont Square Church in LA whose church now includes 109 Negro members and who has done a capital job on integration. Tuesday night we had dinner with member Paul Albright and with Frank Wilkinson, a Methodist layman now serving as Secretary of THE CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE AMERICAN FREEDOMS. His mission in life seems to be to put UnAmerican Committee in its place. Frank feels very strongly the need of MFSA saying that the Field Secretary is a "Must".

#### BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The most significant event in the early days of the new Congress didn't make many headlines. It was the way in which the first legislative engagement in the campaign to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, and all other inquisitorial committees, was ended. To get the full significance of that event it is necessary to take a bird's eye view of the actions which led up to it.

In December 1957, Prof Alexander Meiklejohn, recognized authority on the philosophy underlying our democratic freedoms and long time fighter for civil liberties, sent a petition to the House of Representatives of the last Congress asking them:

"either to decide against continuing the Mandate of the Committee on Un-American Activities or (2) to so modify that Mandate as to deny to that Committee an authority to 'compel testimony' concerning the 'beliefs, expressions or associations' of its witnesses."

On January 7, 1958, a petition "To End House Committee on Un-American Activities" went to Chicago Area Congressmen signed by 61 community leaders, a goodly number from the ranks of religion. It was based on the Supreme Court decision in the Watkins case. After quoting Chief Justice Warren on the consequences of abuses of the legislative process, the conclusion is:

"We, therefore, now call upon the members of the House of Representatives to recognize that its Committee on Un-American Activities operates under an indefensibly broad charter; that it too often has served no legislative purpose; that its activities imperil American values; that the result of its methods lessens the dignity and high office of our elected representatives.

our elected representatives.

We urge that the standing Committee of the House of Representatives be forthwith abolished."

Preliminary to the present session of Congress, a letter appeared in the N. Y. Times on August 2, 1958, signed by nine nationally known Protestant and Jewish leaders. It cited the abuses of the Congressional function of investigation by some of its Committees and quoted national religious bodies concerning them. It referred to legislative proposals "which would perpetuate some of the very abuses that the (Supreme) court sought

"We therefore express the urgent hope that Congress will not seek to undo what the courts have done, but will take action defining the powers and procedures of its investigating committees in such terms as will be in harmony with the principles enunciated by the Supreme Court of the United States, reaffirming our constitutional rights to the end that our cherished freedoms of speech, press, religion and political association shall no longer be abridged."

Also in August, registering the reaction to a Los Angeles Hearing by a Sub-Committee of the Un-American Committee, a petition addressed to the 17 Southern California Representatives in the Congress of the United States was started by the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, assisted by the Citizens Committee for Democratic Freedoms and other organizations. The first name in the initial signers is our Bishop

James C. Baker. The petition called upon these Congressmen:

"Individually or Jointly to Offer at the Opening of the 86th Congress a Resolution to Eliminate the Committee on Un-American Activities from the List of Standing Committees of the House of Representatives."

The number of signers is remarkable, and the percentage of highly placed community leaders, including those engaged in politics, is astonishing. On October 30, Los Angeles Congressman James Roosevelt made this statement:

". . . it is my intention to cooperate in the offering of a resolution to the Democratic Caucus and then on the Floor of the House to eliminate the Un-American Activities Committee as one of the standing committees of the House of Representatives."

On the opening day Congressman Roosevelt offered his resolution, but it differed sharply from his intention. It had two faces, one looking forward the other backward. In the form of changes in the rules it proposed first the promised elimination and then sought to add "seditious activities" to the territory covered by the Judiciary Committee. Since Chairman Walter of the Un-American Committee and one other member are also members of the Judiciary Committee, this would open up the possibility of a duplicate of the Senate Jenner-Eastland Sub-committee, or inquisitorial activities by the Judiciary Committee as a whole. The Resolution was of course referred to the Rules Committee.

Also on the first day of Congress an ad describing the antidemocratic behaviour and consequences of the Un-American Committee appeared in the Washington Post, signed by an independent group of citizens. The list included four religious leaders: Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Dr. John A. Mackay, Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr and Clarence Pickett of the Friends Service Committee, Another signer was Eleanor Roosevelt, the Congressman's mother. The ad ended: "Let us rid ourselves of this agent of weakness and folly."

On January 12, Roosevelt made a speech in support of his resolution. At a previous press conference, according to I. F. Stone's Weekly, an advance text was handed out which made it clear that he did not question the right of Congress to investigate subversion. In response to a question, he said that in defining seditious activities he followed the decision in the California Smith Act cases which required some evidence of incitement. In a new section added to the speech before delivery, he defined "seditious ativities" as "attempts made by meeting or speeches or by publications to disturb the tranquillity of the state.

In another speech on January 27, he qualified this state-ment. After declaring that "he sought a better way of fighting the communist conspiracy than the Committee," he said:

"The fight against the conspiracy of Communism or any other subversive or seditious activities should not contribute in any manner to the destruction of the basic individual rights of the American citizen."

The record of what has happened to all attempts to reform the methods of the Un-American and Eastland committees underlines the historic fact that when you create an inquisitorial committee it uses the traditional procedure of an inquisition, when you start a witch hunt it persecutes innocent people as witch hunters have always done.

The fate of Roosevelt's resolution was sealed before he spoke. The House Republicans had passed a caucus vote against it. Speaker Rayburn had declared his opposition. The day before the speech a Sub-Committee of the House Administration Committee had approved the \$327,000 appropriation Chairman Walter had asked for. The day after the speech the whole Committee also approved, without the hearing that Chairman Burleson of Texas had several times promised. This prevented the organizations in the joint campaign for abolition from presenting their case and getting it in the press.

The next day the appropriation was jammed through the House under a "privileged" rule. In plain English this is a gag rule. It permits no amendment and denies debate. The manager of the bill, Friedel of Maryland, was reminded by Mr. Burleson that under this rule the Speaker need not recognize any member who asked for the floor without first requiring him to state his intention and if he was in opposition refusing him permission to speak. The manager, however, made two concessions. He permitted Roosevelt to state for the record that he would have moved to reduce the amount if amendments had been permitted. Then he permitted Wier of Minnesota to say that this time, as in the last session, he would have voted "No" if voting had been allowed. The Speaker then called the question and without a roll call or any protest at the dictatorial procedure the resolution was agreed to and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

This is the way in which, on the vital issue of the maintenance of the First Amendment, we demonstrate to the world the democratic way of life our national spokesmen boast so much

Of course, the leaders of the abolition campaign know that the defeat of the political vested interest in inquisitorial committees that has been building up for twenty years, and is now increased by the cold war tensions, requires long and arduous education and agitation. But the opportunity to use the opening session of the present Congress for that purpose was lessened Roosevelt's confusing change of purpose and then destroyed the repressive tactic of the House leadership.

While this was being done the Washington news letter the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, leader of the abo tion campaign, was calling in vain upon its readers to get the Congressmen to come to the aid of Roosevelt. The Religion Freedom Committee decided to support the first part of Roos velt's resolution calling for elimination of the Un-American Cor mittee, and oppose the second part which opened a way f another inquisitorial committee. The ECLC Board congratulate Roosevelt for his clear advocacy of the Supreme Court's Watkin decision and his courage in proposing abolition of HUAC ar urged support for that proposal. It then said:

"We are opposed to adding to the Judiciary Committee's jurisdition the words 'seditious activity' because this creates the possibility reestablishing an unconstitutional and inquisitorial House Committee whereas ECLC stands unqualifiedly for abolition of all repressiparactices by the Congress."

These decisions have value only for clearing the record ar for future guidance. Speaker Rayburn well knows whereof I speaks when he says the Roosevelt resolution will not come or of the Rules Committee. The House leadership will permit more discussion of it.

It remains, however, for the organizations engaged in the abolition campaign to protest to the House the undemocrat manner in which that record was closed, and then, every tin the behaviour of the Committee provides an opportunity, to d vise ways to get the basic issue raised on the floor and into the record.

The situation also calls for critical re-examination of method by these organizations with exchange of the results. The mai questions that need to be discussed are how best to educate the Congressmen of liberal tendencies, and what are the best war to get support for them in their constituencies.

H.F.W.

### **OUR READERS WRITE**

Dear Rev. Chamberlin:

Thank you for sending your fine paper. Please accept of "Widow's Mite" to support your worthy efforts. I have lor been an admirer of Rev. H. F. Ward and was glad he is still writing as well as ever. And I know your Janice Roberts h been doing good work for the Religious Freedom Committee Very best wishes,

F. W. STOVER, Pres. Iowa Farmers Assoc.

Dear Mr. McMichael:

Your October Bulletin is so excellent I must have extended copies (\$1.50 check enclosed) to give friends who need to put right on the China question. An old "China hand" myself, am deeply concerned. What a fine work you are doing. Good blessings on your efforts. I've recently returned from New You and it was so good to again contact Ida Pruitt and others fro the old days

HARRIET N. LEARY, San Antonio, Texas.

Dear Dr. Worley:

I rejoice with you in the fact that the Methodist Federation for Social Action has relentlessly persevered in its importa task during another year. You do not need that any one shou tell you that the Methodist Federation is indispensable. Indee you must find ways to expand and intensify the program. much arousement is called for in The Methodist Church that on a vanguard group like the Federation can provide. The wor situation, the state of affairs here at home call for a mobilization of conviction and action directed toward true democracy. American life and peace and brotherliness in the world. As old-time Methodist even though now a Presbyterian minister as an old-time associate in the work of the Methodist Feder tion thru the United Christian Council for Democracy, I united to push forward. you to push forward.

RICHARD MORFORD, New York City.